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USSR Report

HUMAN RESOURCES

No. 20

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LABOR

GEORGIAN LABOR RESOURCES SHIFT IN THE 1970'S

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 26 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences and Professor O. Sagareyshvili, chief of the labor resources department at the Georgian branch of the Scientific Research Institute of Labor: "Region's Potential"]

[Text] The present level of development of productive forces and the acceleration of the growth rate of the economic potential put to the fore the problem of using labor resources effectively. In solving it, consideration must be given to an entire series of determining factors, including balancing the number of workplaces and the population structure, personnel turnover and the unorganized movement of labor resources. We must therefore have a clear understanding of the specifics and features of development of productive forces in all the regions of our republic.

As is known, production growth is facilitated by an increase in the size of the population employed in social production and by improvement in its work efficiency. The determining role here belongs to the intensive factor of raising the production level. At the same time, both intensive and extensive social production growth factors differ in different regions of the republic. This difference is especially characteristic now, when the distribution of enterprises of many branches of the national economy is not balanced with the size of the population able to work. That is why the distribution and development of branches of the national economy must be coordinated with the movement of the population able to work by region, without losing sight of the traditions that population has evolved in its labor. Of course, we must also not forget here that, in developing modern production, it is important to inculcate in people new work habits as are determined by the new types of economic activity. In order to raise the level of employment of labor resources in each region, the rates of their movement must be commensurate with potential production opportunities.

In this connection, studying the features of labor resources formation takes on great importance. But these features are such that modern distribution and development of branches of the national economy given the scientific and technical revolution are aimed at comprehensive mechanization, resulting in the liberation of workers from the production sphere. This naturally strengthens the role of maneuvering labor resources. Given developed socialism, scientific and technical progress makes

labor resources exceptionally mobile, in which connection their interbranch and interterritorial shifts are continuously increasing.

Analysis shows that in Tbilisi and other large and medium-sized cities of the republic, labor resources growth outstripped population growth during 1970-1979. This is to be explained by the increase in the number of people of retirement age and by the arrival of new influxes from other regions.

A different situation has developed in the small cities and urban-type settlements. Suffice it to say that the size of the labor force in them has decreased quite a bit faster than the size of the population. However, in those cities in this category in which industry has been developed successfully, both the population and the size of the labor force have grown correspondingly.

It is remarkable that the population growth in such cities as Telavi, Gurdzhaani, Bolnisi, Khashuri, Samtredia and elsewhere has almost coincided with the growth in the size of the labor force. This testifies to the fact that these regions are economically promising, since as industry grows here, securing the local population for employment and increasing its level of employment are ensured.

In small cities with relatively undeveloped industry, we observe the opposite trend. During this period, the size of the population and the labor force decreased in them. And the reduction in the population outstripped the reduction in labor resources, testifying to the necessity of securing people in them on the basis of place of residence.

In urban-type settlements, the size of the population is growing, on average, but the size of the labor force is decreasing, since opportunities for increasing employment among the population able to work are limited in these settlements.

At the same time, the rates of growth in the proportion of the rural population are quite a bit lower than for the urban population. The reason is not simply population migration from the villages to the cities, but the lower level of natural population increment. As a result of this, and also due to the process of converting villages into cities and urban-type settlements, the number of regions in the republic in which the rural population was a majority, even recently, has decreased. And this has caused a corresponding increase in the number of regions with a higher proportion of urban population. However, this trend is basically characteristic of regions in lowland areas, while the rural population continues to predominate in the mountainous zone.

In the period analyzed, the number of large villages decreased, as a result of being split up, while the proportion of the population in these villages among the republic's total rural population decreased. This has made it substantially more difficult to take steps to improve living conditions and the labor employment of the rural population.

In order to correct the situation, we must continue concentrating economic-administrative centers with consideration of the specific conditions of each region. In this regard, attention must be paid to the size of the forces, the distance between them, and their economic ties with other villages.

Comparison of the dynamics of population shifts from the large and small villages testifies to the fact that the migration from the latter is more intensive. This is to be explained by the fact that a significant portion of the population in the small villages is employed in agriculture, which is characterized here by quite a high proportion of manual labor.

What is the way out? One way is to develop branches of industry (viticulture, tea-growing, canning and others), transport and construction. The extensive development of a multibranch national economy in rural regions will facilitate reducing migration and securing the population at its place of residence.

There are a number of problems requiring solution in this important matter. They are: increasing funds for the construction of branches of large enterprises, organizing work to train and improve the skills of personnel, developing enterprises of the nonproductive sphere, and many others.

However, practice testifies to the fact that disorganization is to be seen in the area of labor resources use in our republic. For example, Tkibuli recently experienced a shortage of miners, but hundreds of workers left the city each year for seasonal jobs. Construction projects in Khashuri lacked manpower, but 600 workers left the city. Bogdanovskiy Rayon experienced a manpower shortage during the haying season, but more than 1,600 workers left the rayon. Approximately 35-38 percent of the population able to work leaves the republic each year from several villages in Akhaltsikhskiy Rayon. As a result of special research, we revealed that such "seasonal work" is a result of low employment of the population able to work in social production, of unsatisfactory development of the material production sphere. Previously, the proper attention was not paid to this problem in some places by either party or soviet organs. As a result, the proportion of people employed in republic industry was 19 percent in 1977, while it was 30 percent for the country as a whole. The low level of development of the republic nonmaterial production sphere can be judged from the following data: in 1977, the number of seats in preschool institutions was 45.1 per 1,000 population in the USSR and only 31.1 in Georgia. The figures were 14.0 and 5.8 for day nurseries and 120.8 and 101.3 hospital beds per 10,000 population. The number of village movie theater visits averaged 16 and 12 per resident and per-capita book and pamphlet publication averaged 7.0 and 3.5 in all languages.

One reason people leave a region is that certain raykoms and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies often permit serious errors in the distribution and use of specialists. Many tekhnikum, vocational-technical school and VUZ graduates are not assigned locally and so abandon their own rayon or even leave the republic.

USSR Gosplan and Central Statistical Administration demographic forecasts for 1980-1990 show that an unfavorable resources balance will develop in the republic during this period. That is why our most important task is to seek our labor resources reserves in each branch of material and nonmaterial production and to work out steps to use these resources efficiently.

Calculations show that we need to attract tens of thousands more people into nonmaterial production in the republic's lowland, foothill and high-mountain regions. This will decrease the current strain. But how can such a level be achieved? The rates of labor resources growth in these regions is still inadequate to enable us to

ensure the necessary increase in personnel through natural population increment. Hence, logic dictates that we draw the simple conclusion that, in order to achieve the necessary balance, we need to attract people employed now at home or in subsidiary farming into social production even more actively.

This path assumes the implementation of an entire complex of organizational measures, and first of all the efficient distribution, by region, of enterprises of the nonproductive sphere, as well as acceleration of the labor productivity growth rates for workers in this sphere. These steps will help achieve full accord between the increment in labor resources and growth in the number of workplaces.

The construction of large industrial enterprises in Tbilisi, Khashchuri, Kareli, Vorzhomi, Tskhinvali, Zugdidi, Bolnisi, Marneuli, Tetri-Tskaro, Tsalendzhikha, Khobi and Gali must become a reliable means of using labor resources here efficiently.

But what about other regions where people are freed for other work from the sphere of agricultural production, requiring the defining of new spheres of application for their labor? There is an answer to this, too: both analysis and experience show that it is most appropriate in these regions to build branches of large industrial enterprises and machine shops, to create subdivisions to build road and other networks. In our view, it makes good sense to organize such subdivisions in large villages in Telavskiy, Gurdzhaanskiy, Signakhskiy, Tsiteltskaroyskiy, Bolnisskiy, Tetritskaroyskiy, Goriyskiy, Borzhomskiy, Akhaltsikhskiy, Makharadzevskiy, Shuakhevskiy, Tsaledzhikhskiy, Gegechkorskiy and Ochamchirskiy rayons.

One of the most important shortcomings in the distribution of enterprises of different branches of the republic economy is the fact that in several regions we are developing these branches unilaterally, with no consideration of the ratio of men to women in the population. We have lost quite a bit in the agricultural regions due to the failure to use work time fully. In terms of numbers, so-called seasonal reserves in these regions comprise approximately 30-35 percent of the total population able to work. We cannot be reconciled to this, of course. Consequently, we need to develop agroindustrial associations in agricultural regions even faster and more actively. There is much to be gained by this. First, it will become possible to sharply reduce losses of work time in agricultural production. Second, we will be able to create opportunities for the efficient use of manpower throughout the calendar year. Let me note here that the creation and expansion of agroindustrial associations is especially necessary in these regions: Akhmeta - Lagodekhi - Kvareli, Bolnisi - Tetri-Tskaro, Kaspi - Gori - Kareli, Akhaltsikhe - Adigeni - Aspindza, Oni - Ambrolauri - Tsageri, Mayakovski - Vani - Chokhatauri, Keda - Shuakhevi - Khulo.

Labor resources are our main wealth. The results we achieve in developing our economy will depend on how they are used, on the ways we find for attracting more people to the material production sphere. It is a task of great statewide importance to make full use of the main potential of each republic region, to chart a course towards the accelerated implementation of all measures being taken today to do this. Resolving it systematically and purposefully will mean a worthy greeting to the 26th CPSU Congress and the 26th Georgian Communist Party Congress, a guarantee of a firm foundation for precise, smooth work in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

11052
CSO: 1828

LABOR

YOUNG PEOPLE IN ESTONIAN WORKFORCE

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 1 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by N. Mel'der, leading specialist in the Estonian SSR State Committee for Labor: "Young People In Production"; phrases enclosed in slantlines printed in bold face]

[Text] Data from the 1979 Census show that young people aged 16 to 30 comprise more than 30 percent of the total republic population employed in branches of material production.

A comparison of a number of branches shows the unevenness of participation by young people in them.

/Some branches turn out to be more attractive to young people, who comprise more than one-third of all workers in them (enterprises of trade, communications and science). In a number of other branches, the number of young people is considerably less (agriculture, municipal and personal services, forestry). Characteristically, in connection with technical progress, there is a trend in agriculture towards reduction in the shift of young agricultural workers to the cities. THUS, THE PROPORTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN ESTONIAN AGRICULTURE WAS 19.2 PERCENT IN 1967, 20 PERCENT IN 1973, 24.3 PERCENT IN 1977 AND 27.1 PERCENT IN 1979.

In terms of composition and social functions, the most significant group is young people reinforcing the ranks of the working class, the primary creative force of society.

The demand for workers is not decreasing. More than 68 percent of the republic working population is workers.

An increase in the efficiency with which labor resources are used and further improvement in the forms and methods of managing the primary productive force of society are dictated by the level of employment achieved and by the demographic situation which has evolved in the republic. The reduction in quantitative increment in labor resources must be compensated for by a higher level of skill, by improvement in the training of young people for socially useful labor.

It is a present and long-range task to extensively develop the network of vocational-technical schools, along with improving the training of skilled production personnel, which can be achieved on the basis of systematic, thorough vocational guidance work.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan, more than 26,000 people have been trained in republic vocational-technical schools. Each year, their arrival at enterprises and farms covers about 19 percent of the demand for skilled personnel. That is too little.

/Comparison figures for the 1978-1979 school year show that the number of students in Estonian SSR secondary vocational-technical schools was 60 per 10,000 population; in Latvia -- 71, in Lithuania -- 92. Approximately the same proportions and figures apply to secondary vocational-technical enrollment following completion of the eighth grade./

And although additional steps have been taken to ensure the start up of all schools anticipated by the plan in the 11th Five-Year Plan, at present the basic demand for skilled workers is being met by training them at the enterprises, thanks primarily to the influx of secondary school students. /Upwards of 40 percent of such graduates each year go directly into production. Unfortunately, only one-sixth of them find jobs in line with the specialty they obtained in school./ And that, in turn, causes dissatisfaction with one's labor and position in the collective and negatively affects production discipline, leading to personnel turnover.

Young people can be given both a secondary education and trained in one or several specialties only at interschool study-production combines.

Since 1978, three such combines have been created in the republic: Tallinn, Narva, Kokhtla-Yarve.

Propagandizing the most important occupations for a given region and effective vocational guidance facilitate reducing the probability of mistakes in choosing one's life course. Thus, 160 people began mastering textile occupations in 1979 based at the Krengol'mskaya Manufactura enterprise. However, the republic study-production combine network is poorly developed. The Estonian SSR Gosplan must speed up its resolution of the problem of expanding the republic study-production combine network and of improving the quality of its study-material base.

It is known that education is the determining requisite for high-quality labor and output, but there is currently no direct connection between skill category and level of education, so an inadequate level of worker education is no obstacle to obtaining even the highest skill category.

Consequently, it is appropriate to link the awarding of each skill category to level of education.

The urgency of the tasks of securing personnel and creating stable labor collectives is more obvious. In the 10th Five-Year Plan, personnel turnover decreased in industry and construction and whole-day losses of working time dropped, but the amount of working time lost is still high.

High personnel turnover was observed in 1979 at enterprises of local industry, meat and dairy industry and building materials industry; working time losses increased in construction, at motor transport enterprises and in highway transport.

The basic reasons for turnover, losses of working time and poor discipline continue to be shortcomings in production organization and in the use of young people's labor, as well as poor working and living conditions.

/Inasmuch as young people account for 60-70 percent of all personnel turnover, our primary attention must be focused on securing young people in labor collectives. There are quite a few effective ways of influencing young production workers. A well-arranged system of measures to accelerate adaptation, determining the growth prospects for each worker (and especially of those working in unattractive sectors) and creating conditions for the flexible, efficient redistribution of workers within the enterprise help young people become established in the collective faster and overcome the difficulties involved in that effort./

The effectiveness of introducing measures to control personnel movement depends largely on who is doing it. Personnel departments have still not become centers for such work; their functions do not correspond to the demands of the times. Public personnel departments attract little attention.

Tutors and the creation of favorable living and working conditions have a significant influence on stabilizing collectives. However, when the principle of unity of economic and educational measures is violated, young workers do not linger long.

Attention is called to the fact that dismissals are higher among vocational-technical school graduates in places with above-plan workforces ("Tallinstroy" construction administration No 5, Tallinn House-Building Combine, "Tartustroy" trust, and the Yygevaskaya and Vil'yandiskaya mechanized construction columns).

Steps to strengthen discipline and reduce personnel turnover among young people in the Estonian Department of the Baltic Railroad have been insufficiently effective, which has been facilitated by unsatisfactory working conditions and poorly arranged living conditions.

Deficiencies in educational work have been factors in generating personnel turnover. Purposeful work with people is frequently lost amid general measures.

In the rayons studied by the Estonian SSR State Committee for Labor, Kokhtla-Yarveskiy, Khaapsaluskiy and Pylvaskiy, the tutelage system was poorly organized among rural young people. There are also major shortcomings here in the area of personal services and trade. It is no accident that only a few stay to work on their own farms after graduating from secondary school in these rayons (12 persons, 5.4 percent of those graduating from the secondary school, remained in Khaapsaluskiy Rayon in 1979).

Farm leaders must see the potential for reinforcing stockraising and field-worker personnel in the secondary school. They must explain the state of affairs intelligibly and graphically on sovkhozes and kolkhozes, at farms and in brigades, and must be flexible in solving the problem of the seasonal nature of agricultural work.

Much has been done in the republic to increase the prestige of the worker and grain grower. The personnel education and training system must be subordinate to the need to balance labor resources, as drawn up by the Estonian SSR Gosplan with consideration of long-range economic development.

/Labor detachments of upper-grade students have been created at industrial enterprises of the republic for the first time this summer./

/Eight detachments organized through the Estonian upper-grade students detachment are working in light industry, three are working in the lumber and wood processing system, five are working at municipal services enterprises, and one each is working at communications enterprises and the Estpoligrafprom. This way of involving schoolchildren in productive labor merits broader dissemination at republic enterprises./

In order best to manage labor resources, the personnel services of enterprises should be strengthened by adding sociologists and psychologists, the system of training personnel workers should be improved, and resources should be maneuvered skillfully within the enterprise and within the system. And given sufficient manpower in the low-prestige specialties, they should be converted into the initial stage of labor activity.

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FUTURE PLANS FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH WORK IN VUZY

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 80 p 2

/Article by I.Makarov, deputy minister of Higher and Middle Special Education, USSR, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "From Science to Production: The Institution of Higher Learning is Offering a Novel Idea: How Can Its Adoption Be Speeded UP?"/

/Text/ While preparing for the 26th CPSU Congress and making plans for the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, we must give thought to the training of the personnel who will ensure the fulfillment of these plans.

Today when scientific-technical progress is becoming a primary factor in the development of the economy and our culture, it is simply impossible to train and educate skilled personnel who are capable of creatively solving professional tasks without the professors and scientists carrying out scientific research and developmental work at the very latest level of knowledge and without actively involving students in research and creative work.

In the USSR's 870 institutions of higher learning is concentrated more than a third of all scientific-pedagogical workers. Nearly one half of the best trained scientists works in the universities and institutes. In 1979 among the institutions of higher learning of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Middle Special Education alone the amount of expenditures for research and developmental work was almost one and a half billion rubles.

The output of VUZ science for the national economy is also increasing. During 1979 the universities and institutes of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Middle Special Education adopted for production the results of more than 17,000 projects. The confirmed economic savings from their use exceed nearly two-fold the expenditures for all the research that is conducted in the institutions of higher learning.

The new stage in the development of scientific-research work in the VUZY, as the basis for raising the quality of the training of the modern specialist, was marked by the passing in April 1978 of a Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "Concerning the raising of the efficiency of scientific-technical work in

the institutions of higher learning". Serious attention was given to VUZ science in the Decree "Concerning the further development of higher education and raising the quality of training specialists", which was enacted by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers last summer.

In approaching VUZ research from these high positions, one cannot help but note that, unfortunately, we are not making full use of the scientific potential of higher education. At the same time we frequently create research institutions, which scarcely have the necessary basis and, most important, which do not have the skilled personnel, to solve new scientific-technical problems. The carrying out of these projects could be handed over to the VUZY which already have an adequate scientific reserve in one field of knowledge or another.

We are also disturbed by the fact that many promising specimens of new equipment and proposals for improving technology, the organization of labor and management, which have been created in the VUZY, cannot find their way into practice. Unfortunately, the so-called "single adoption" practice is very widespread: one or several models of new devices or equipment, created in the VUZY, are manufactured and used by the enterprise-customer.

Apparently, the time has come to think up a mechanism for the VUZY to make use of the principles of planning and specialization in research aimed at increasing the motivation of the VUZ workers to make practical use of the new scientific data and technical solutions that they receive. The possibility for making this a reality can be found, in particular, in the creation at the leading VUZY of scientific-research units, as unified scientific institutions with the rights of a scientific-research institute, and also the cost accounting scientific association within the USSR Ministry of Higher and Middle Special Education. Sometimes the VUZ workers are responsible for the difficulties that arise in the adoption process. Some projects do not make it into practice because of the low technical-economic level of the obtained results. The subject-matter of some VUZ research is not in line with the promising trends of scientific-technical progress.

In a speech at the 25th CPSU Congress, Comrade Brezhnev emphasized that "the practical adoption of new scientific ideas is today no less important a task than their development." In carrying out these instructions, the VUZY are exerting themselves to bring their projects to the production line. Ties with enterprises and organizations are being developed and strengthened; and long-range and annual plans for adoption are being drawn up.

The improvement of the planning of research and design work is aimed at speeding up the adoption of scientific achievements into the national economy. The extensive use of program-target method of planning and organizing science must play and important role. The results of VUZ research, conducted according to programs of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and sectoral and republic plans, as a rule, find their way into practice. However, today the

number of such projects is less than 20 percent of the total that are carried out according to the subject-matter plans of the VUZY. The majority of the research results that are not adopted are not included in these plans and it is their fate that is a matter of concern.

A draft list of the most important scientific-technical programs for 1981-1985 has been prepared. In accordance with the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology the USSR Ministry of Higher and Middle Special Education will make use of the VUZY to fulfill these programs. Simultaneously the VUZY are coordinating the subject-matter of their research with the sectoral ministries and departments and with their lead organizations for incorporating the largest and most promising projects in the sectoral plans. The successful work of the VUZY in the forthcoming five-year plan will largely determine how efficiently and qualitatively these measures are accomplished. In connection with this the well-disposed attitude of our planning organs, ministries and departments toward the proposals of the VUZY is particularly important. It is also important that the research be supported with the needed limits, allocations and funds for material-technical resources.

Higher education receives constant assistance and support from the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, where a special commission has been created for the extensive adoption of scientific-research projects that the universities and institutes have completed. During the Tenth Five-Year Plan alone the commission has examined more than 300 projects. A significant portion of the projects was included in the state plans for the economic and social development of the USSR or in the sectoral plans for new technology. Unfortunately, the decisions of the commision are of a purely advisory nature and are not mandatory for the sectoral ministries and departments, which reduces the efficiency of its work. We believe that it would be proper to broaden the rights of this organ for making decision concerning the assimilation into production of the new, promising technology that was created within the VUZY.

Many projects, completed by the VUZY, are not being adopted because the sectors lack the needed capacities, material-technical, labor and financial resources for the rapid restructuring of production and the assimilation of new technology. The creation of such reserves and additional capacities is a task, the solution of which, in our opinion, is largely dependent upon the rates of assimilation and series production of new technology.

An effective form for the organization of VUZ science is the creation within the universities and institutes of sectoral scientific-research laboratories, which are financed by the appropriate sector of the national economy. In concept these laboratories must serve as a connecting link between the VUZ and the sector, since orders for research come directly from the sectoral ministries. This makes it possible to exclude from the plans unpromising and insignificant topics and to concentrate on the solution of crucial problems facing the sector.

The number of such laboratories increases from year to year; at present there are about 1,000 of them. However, on the whole the industrial ministries and departments are still not sufficiently actively proceeding toward the creation of sectoral laboratories, particularly within the enterprises. The volume of research being performed in these laboratories is not less than 14 percent for the USSR of the total amount of contract projects being carried out in the VUZY.

Another promising form of cooperation between higher education and the national economy, which has been widely disseminated in recent years, is the organization on voluntary initiatives of training-scientific-production associations (UNPO). These associations are created within the VUZY or their subelements or industrial enterprises. Often the associations incorporate scientific-research institutes and design bureaus. The associations created by the Belorussian polytechnical institute and the Belorussian Automobile and the Minsk Tractor plants, the Leningrad Polytechnical Institute and the Elektrosila Association, and the enterprises of the Karaganda Coal Trust are well known. There are now more than 100 such associations in the Soviet Union. The creation of the UNPO makes it possible to comprehensively, on a long-term basis to develop ties between the VUZY and production and to simultaneously respond to its needs.

The Achilles heel of scientific work in the universities and technical VUZY is the underdeveloped experimental and design work base. Without the appropriate design and technological study, not even the most valuable proposal of the VUZ can be accepted by an enterprise or other organization for broad adoption. The transfer of the results of VUZ research to the sectoral organizations for further work often delays adoption for many years and frequently leads to the VUZ losing its inventor's certificate.

One of the efficient ways to solve the problem of adoption is to create within the large VUZY planning and design offices that are equipped with modern technical means, systems for automated design work, and systems for the automated development and preparation of production. Such subelements make it possible to finish the scientific projects that the VUZY have completed, thereby speeding up their adoption. This also makes it possible, having involved the students in the research, to ensure the training of specialists-designers and planners on actual projects and on a modern technical base.

The sharp speeding up of the practical realization of the new scientific ideas and technical solutions, discovered in the VUZY, promotes the availability within the VUZY of experimental production facilities. Thus, it took less than a year for the experimental plant of the Moscow Power Engineering Institute to assimilate the manufacture of new, modern modules for the KAMAK system, which is to be used for the automation of experiments. Of course, it is not realistic to require every VUZ to create a large design office and experimental production facility, nor would this be advisable. In some union republics there is already some positive experience in the creation of inter-VUZ design offices and experimental plants. Such work is being carried out, in

particular, in the Kirghiz, Kazakhstan and Belorussia. This experience must be carefully studied and disseminated.

The inter-VUZ centers for the study of scientific research must play a significant role in the development of scientific work in higher education. At present they are designing the first such center in the city of Dnepropetrovsk. In the future there will be a network of such centers.

However, the construction and outfitting of the inter-VUZ centers is a new matter and there are difficulties in solving these questions. The main difficulty is that the USSR Gosplan is not allocating the needed capital investments for these construction projects in the plans of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Middle Special Education.

At the all-union conference of the workers of higher education in the Kremlin the need to ensure the development of higher education as an intersectoral research complex, capable of conducting work in all sectors of knowledge and actively adopting its results into the national economy, was emphasized.

The scientific potential of the VUZY and their highly skilled personnel can serve as a reliable guarantee that this task will be carried out. However, the realization of this goal is a concern not only of the universities and institutes. The planning organs must make an important contribution to its solution. The USSR Academy of Sciences and the sectoral ministries and departments also must contribute. In other words, the organizations which can find in the VUZY a reliable support for solving the most important research problems and as appropriate take the VUZY into consideration when formulating their scientific policy. It is necessary to overcome the departmental approach to VUZ science as "not our own", which, unfortunately, is still quite common in some sectoral ministries. And, of course, the greatest responsibility for successful fulfillment of this goal rests with the USSR Ministry of Higher and Middle Special Education as the organ required to determine the trends in the development of Soviet higher education in all spheres of its work.

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EDUCATION

KIRGIZ VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL SCHOOLS CRAMPED, POORLY EQUIPPED

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 30 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by B. Prokhorov and V. Tumanov: "Where To Get An Occupation?"]

[Text] Our conversation with Tashtanbek Ibrayevich Ibrayev, director of PTU [vocational-technical school] No 22, took a somewhat ceremonial direction at the start. At first, we talked about the enviable fate awaiting graduates of this construction school, the only one on the northern shore of Lake Issykkul', about how much its graduates look forward to the unionwide celebrations. This school serves as the forge for personnel for the entire shore. Young people now consider it especially prestigious to obtain a worker specialty. That is gratifying. Whereas the lion's share of teachers' efforts was previously spent on getting students into the school now that the school has switched to training workers with a secondary education, the question of enrollment has almost disappeared.

"We have a different problem," complained the director, inviting us to inspect the classes and workshops. And there we found out what was troubling the director. School No 22 has been in Rybach'iy 12 years. An administrative building built in the 1930's and very nearly in ruins was allocated for the school. Temporarily. But over the years, that "temporarily" has become permanent. The school now has about 500 students, but only six classrooms. Lessons can't be held in quarters so cramped.

"We found a way to deal with this situation, by holding classes in three shifts," says the director, then adding with bitterness, "but the number of students has increased to 700 since the first of September; we've added a third year, but I can't imagine what we can do after that."

The dormitory situation is even more pressing, as there are only places for 500. More then 200 kids live in private apartments. Understandably, it is hard to conduct educational work with them.

"We are training people in various construction specialties," the director tells us, "but present-day construction is full of machinery. We can't even graduate a painter or a plasterer unless he knows the fundamentals of using means of small-scale mechanization. At the same time, our production base is just a promise. I ask you, can a modern construction worker be taught without it? Can you train an assembler if he has never laid eyes on an assembly crane?"

In recent years, fundamental changes have occurred in Kirghizia in the vocational-technical personnel training system. After publication of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on vocational-technical education, a network of vocational-technical school grew up in the republic. During the current five-year plan, a majority of the schools have changed over to training workers with a secondary education.

During the first four years of the five-year plan, 35 million rubles was allocated for construction of vocational-technical education facilities. Nine school complexes with places for over 4,000 students, two school buildings and two workshops have been or are being built in the republic. Student living conditions have improved considerably. Seven standard dormitories and two cafeterias have been built for them. In Keminskiy Rayon, for example, the Ministry of Reclamation and Water Management built a modern complex with a spacious auditorium, comfortable dormitory and good cafeteria for PTU No 19. It must be said that the prestige of the school, its popularity among young people, has much to do with the living conditions, with the conveniences available.

But the successes achieved do not mean that all problems have been solved. And the school No 22 in Rybach'iy with which we began this story is no exception. For the republic as a whole, only half the funds allocated to build and start up vocational-technical education facilities in the first four years of the five-year plan have been utilized. As a result, we have failed to receive 5,200 school seats and 26,600 square meters of housing.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the Kirghiz SSR Ministry of Construction has been especially unconcerned about its worker reinforcements. It runs school No 22, by the way. We visited PTU No 5 in the republic capital and were convinced that its situation is no better than that of the school in Rybach'iy, having the same cramped quarters, the same lack of dormitory space, the same many years of promises to create a production base for the instruction....

At the same time, it is construction which needs workers most of all. While we spoke with those in the Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, a routine alarm was sounded by construction workers: send us several crane operators right away, the equipment is standing idle.... But you can't ask those same construction workers for a crane for the school yard, and there is practically nothing to train crane operators with.

In southern Kirghizia, in Osh, the "Oshstroy" trust is putting up a PTU study complex. Its construction has been underway for eight years now, and the end is not in sight. The plan for the first quarter of this year was carried out by only 24 percent, and now there's not a soul at the site....

The Kirghiz SSR Ministry of Rural Construction has an equally bad attitude towards its own study base. They promised to release a dormitory for PTU No 11 in Bokombayevo village two years ago, and they are still promising. After building a beautiful complex for PTU No 35 in Novonikolayevka village, Kalininskiy Rayon, the year before last, the ministry has not yet provided its workshops with the needed equipment.

The union ministries are also little concerned about training personnel. For example, the Kadamzhayskiy Antimony Combine (USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy)

has been operating at full capacity for decades now. It is the largest enterprise in the republic, but it does not have its own vocational-technical school. Specialists are trained on the job. Is that right?

"Naryngidroenergostroy" construction workers also need skilled worker reinforcements: they put up one GES, are putting up a second, and a whole cascade is in the offing, a new city will be built...but the administration still does not have its own base school.

Kirghizia also has enterprises of the Ministry of Automotive industry, but there is no vocational-technical school for automotive workers either. Which means the plant is forced to train its own workers right in the shops. That is in the best case. In the worst, it entices specialists from other enterprises.

So that is what happens. There are not enough workers, but thousands of young men and women graduating from eight- and ten-year schools do not have an opportunity to obtain a worker occupation. Is that really a state-oriented approach?

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DEMOGRAPHY

PROBLEMS OF MIGRATION OF RURAL YOUTH

Moscow SEL'SKAYA NOV in Russian No 8, Aug 80, No 9, Sep 80

/Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Viktor Perevedentsev: "Between the Countryside and the City"/

/No 8, Aug 80, pp 18-19/

/Text/ The booklet "Naseleniye SSSR" /The USSR Population/, which contains the results of the 1979 All-Union Census, was recently published. By studying them and comparing them with earlier data it is possible to say much about the directions of development of the modern village, its population and, of course, the problems which arise in this connection.

At the beginning of the year there were 98.9 million people in rural areas. This is 6.9 million less than there were 9 years before--in 1970. Let us note at the same time that in the 11 years prior to the 1970 census the population of the countryside decreased by only 3.1 million.

This attests that the migration of rural inhabitants to the city is continuing actively.

1. Whence Are They Leaving? Where Are They Staying?

In the 9 years between the censuses the countryside lost 15.6 million inhabitants. On the average 1.73 million people left it annually. The overwhelming majority of these losses fell to migration to cities, a negligible portion fell to the transformation of rural population centers into urban population centers. The natural growth of the rural population during the same period was 8.7 million. This is for the country as a whole.

But in some regions the rural population declined sharply, in others, on the contrary, it increased sharply. Let us take the union republics. In the RSFSR, Belorussia and Lithuania the number of rural inhabitants decreased by 14-16 percent. At the same time in some oblasts of the RSFSR there were even more of them. It is alarming that some oblasts of the Nonchernozem Zone suffered especially significant losses. For example, in Tul'skaya and Yaroslavskaya oblasts the rural population decreased by 25 percent, in Bryanskaya and Kalininskaya oblasts--by 26 percent, in Kostromskaya Oblast--by 28 percent.

But then the rural population of a number of union republics during the same years increased, especially sharply in Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and Tadzhikistan.

Perhaps, in the Nonchernozem countryside there was an excess of manpower resources, while in Central Asia there was a shortage? No, quite the contrary. In the Nonchernozem Zone a large shortage of manpower in agriculture was also felt in 1970, while in Central Asia at that time there was a significant "excess" of it.

When speaking about the migration of the rural population it is impossible to disregard the important fact that primarily young people leave for the city. And this has far-reaching consequences. Wherever the outflow of young people is significant, few potential parents remain. Here is an example. In Kalininskaya Oblast in 1959 there were 129,200 rural inhabitants from 10 to 20 years old, while in 1970 there were only 56,900 people from 20 to 30 years old, that is, the group decreased by more than half. Let us note that at present mothers up to the age of 30 account for three-fourths of all the births. Too few young parents means too few children as well.

That is precisely the situation now in Kalininskaya Oblast. Here, incidentally, there were many fewer children up to the age of 10 in 1970 than there were people from 40 to 50 years old--95,900 as against 115,800. And this means that the amount of rural manpower resources of Kalininskaya Oblast would have decreased even without the outflow of the population from the countryside. Since such an outflow was intensive, the manpower resources here declined rapidly.

But now let us take for comparison a typical oblast of Uzbekistan--Andizhanskaya Oblast. In 1959 there were 95,200 rural inhabitants from 10 to 20 years old, while in 1970 there were 75,700 people 20 to 30 years old. Thus, the size of the group decreased by only 20 percent. There were 55,200 people from 40 to 50 years old and 280,800 people up to 10 years old, that is, more than fivefold as many. This means that the local manpower resources increased rapidly.

The outflow of the rural population, although this, at first glance, is hard to explain, takes place primarily from places with a shortage of manpower resources, while where there is an excess of them, the population is not very mobile and virtually does not leave for cities. Precise data on how many working hands are lacking or, on the contrary, what their excess is in different regions of the country can be obtained only by compiling territorial balances of manpower resources by fractional territorial units, which, incidentally, is envisaged by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the improvement of the economic mechanism. But there is no doubt that the compiling of such balances for the rural administrative rayons of the Nonchernozem Zone would reveal in most instances a significant shortage of manpower resources.

Here is the situation which is typical of the Nonchernozem Zone:

"They had just begun to harvest the rye, but the time had already arrived to pull the flax. The managers of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes sounded the alarm: there are not enough people.... And the picture known from past years begins: the rayon committee of the party and the rayon soviet executive committee seek 'additional opportunities,' mobilize people from rayon organizations and enterprises. In fact this mobilization continues all spring and all summer: at first for the spring sowing, then for hay cutting and the storing of ensilage, then for the harvesting of

grain, flax and potatoes--and so it is until late autumn. For the period of haying each rayon organization received a concrete assignment: to procure at the sponsored farm a certain amount of hay or silage. These assignments do not escape anyone" (L. Ivanov, "Kray lyubimyy" /The Favorite Region/, Moscow, 1974, pp 309-310).

Although it is a matter here of only one rayon of Kalininskaya Oblast, the picture is typical of the entire Nonchernozem Zone.

Let us now turn to the Fergana Plain, that pearl of Central Asia. You can drive 10-20 km on a continuous street. One village without a break passes into another. There is not a bit of empty land. The houses come right up to the cotton fields. And all the same large-scale housing construction is under way. It seems that in a little while longer there will be no place to put the new houses, they will begin to supplant the orchards and plantings.

Let us check the personal impressions with statistics. According to the 1979 census in Andizhanskaya Oblast, which lies entire on the Fergana Plain, there were 227 rural inhabitants per km^2 of territory. This is 35 (thirty-five!) times more than in Kalininskaya Oblast, where according to the same census there were 6.5 rural inhabitants per km^2. And the population density of Kalininskaya Oblast is decreasing rapidly, that of Andizhanskaya Oblast is increasing even more rapidly.

There is less than a hectare of plowland per agricultural worker in Andizhanskaya Oblast. The land, of course, is being used intensively: cotton, orchards, vineyards. But when developing new lands in Central Asia they proceed on the basis that there should be 8-9 hectares of irrigated land, which is taken up primarily by cotton, per worker. This fact characterizes the degree of the labor surplus in Andizhanskaya Oblast.

There is some connection between the extreme outflow of the population of the Nonchernozem countryside and the inadequate outflow of rural inhabitants in Central Asia. We will reveal its mechanism below. But now let us investigate what attracts rural young people to the city.

2. Urban Magnets

As is known, in recent years much work has been done on attaching the graduates of local schools to the countryside. But, frankly speaking, it has so far not yielded the expected results. Even in Kostromskaya Oblast, where the graduates of the rural schools several years ago come forth with the initiative: "By the Whole Class to the Native Kolkhoz," the size of the rural population in 9 years decreased by 28 percent.

The reasons for the migration of the rural population of the Nonchernozem Zone to cities have been studied many times. On the whole, it comes down to the fact that in the city income is higher, not only the cultural and general conditions, but also the working conditions are better. But let us try to look at the problem of migration through the eyes of the graduates themselves.

In 1977 at two rural schools of Vladimirskaya Oblast the 10th graders were invited to write a composition on the theme: "You have been offered the opportunity to choose between the city and the countryside...." Before the children set to

writing, they were acquainted with the letter of Valentina Gavrilova, which she sent to the editorial office of the magazine YUNOST'. Gavrilova had graduated a bit earlier from a rural school in the same Vladimirskaya Oblast. What was said in her letter? There were here, in particular, the following lines: "Ask any boy or girl from our village: where is it better? They will probably reply, in the city. There are a thousand specializations there. But in the village. A machine operator, a milkmaid, a field-crop grower.... In the city there are both clubs and movie theaters at every step. Asphalt, cleanliness. But here in the spring you do not go beyond the threshold without rubber boots. And where is there to go? You come to the club--there are only youngsters. I have already read all the library books in school.... It is hard for my parents to understand me: they have lived all their life in the country. Yet what a life this is--the field, the farm, one's own plot.... From morning to night! I do not want to live that way!"

As should have been expected, the opinions of the school children were divided. Many wanted to remain in their native village, but far from all. Here are excerpts from the compositions of those who would like to leave for the city.

"I will go to the city. I will work at the Aleksandrovskiy Radio Plant. I cannot say that I am enthusiastic with this choice. I would like to stay in the village, but my parents will not allow it. They say: on our farm it is possible to work only in a department, and this work is very difficult. Mama believes that if I stay in the village, I will not find a husband. And indeed, we have very few young people."

"After graduating from school I will go to the city. The culture there is higher and there are more movie theaters. But this, in my opinion, is not the main thing. In the city the people are more disciplined. Every day I see drunks in our settlements. One lies, for example, in the dining room, and people walk by him like they do by a log. No one cares. They are also accustomed to swearing. Perhaps, it is this way only in my village, I do not know...."

But only some of the graduating students reasoned in this way, the others--and they were the majority--intended to stay in the countryside and work there.

But what is the situation among the rural inhabitants in general? Here is what information on their intentions was obtained in special surveys in Kalininskaya Oblast and Krasnodarskiy Kray.

In their youth (at 16-22 years old) the majority of rural inhabitants are oriented toward the city, and even more strongly so in Krasnodarskiy Kray than in Kalininskaya Oblast. However, in the Kuban' the longing for the city fades rapidly with age, while in the Nonchernozem oblast it is quite pronounced up to the age of 50. These differences, to be sure, are caused by objective conditions: in Krasnodarskiy Kray the standard of living is higher, the cultural and general conditions are better.

There is a close relationship between the intentions of people and the actual results of migration. In the 9 years, which separate the censuses of 1970 and 1979, the size of the rural population of Krasnodarskiy Kray decreased by only 3 percent, but then for Kalininskaya Oblast this figure is much more significant--26 percent. But even in Krasnodarskiy Kray 16 percent of the adult population wants to leave

the countryside. Thus, among those who by all standards live well in the countryside, there are many times more who desire to move to the city than there are those who realize their intention. If the living conditions of the rural population were raised to the Kuban' level, for which, let us say frankly, much time is needed, the aspiration to settle in a city would decrease, but there would nevertheless be many who want to move.

The study of migration shows that its extent is determined by the demands of cities for additional manpower. Thus, during the second half of the 1970's, for example, when the demands of cities for additional manpower resources declined (at that time numerous urban youth, who were born in the late 1950's, came of working age, while a small generation, which was born during World War I, the revolution and the civil war, left it), the influx of the rural population declined sharply. But by 1979 it was many times greater than in 1978. This is the "first bell." In the immediate future the demand of cities for manpower (all things being equal) will increase sharply, since the time of the relatively small generation, which was born in the 1960's, will arrive, while the relatively large generation of the 1920's will begin to retire. Consequently, the transfer of the rural population to the city will increase sharply.

This may effect especially strongly precisely the Nonchernozem Zone, where a stable migratory psychology has formed.

Here is an example of this. In recent times I have traveled annually to the native region of M. I. Kalinin, to the former village (now an urban-type settlement) of Verkhnyaya Troitsya, which is in Kashinskiy Rayon of Kalininskaya Oblast. The best of the experimental model settlements known to me, which was set up according to a special plan, arose here. Very good two- and three-story apartment houses with all the urban conveniences, the remarkable school building, the excellent House of Culture, the seven-story hotel--economic considerations, as we see, did not "weigh" on the planners.

Excellent conditions for the life and labor of young people have been created in Verkhnyaya Troitsa--the central farmstead of the leading Verkhnetroitskiy Sovkhoz. It would seem that the boys and girls should willingly remain here. But in reality?

In 1979 the Verkhnyaya Troitsa Secondary School gave secondary school graduation diplomas to 81 graduates. As far as I know, all the measures on vocational guidance and labor education, which are usually implemented at rural schools, were also implemented here. And all the same none of the upper graders wanted to remain at the farm. True, one girl received at the sovkhoz a permit to an agricultural institute, another received one to a tekhnikum. Nevertheless the others expressed the desire to work in cities. Probably some, not having been able to enroll in a VUZ or not having found in the city what they dreamed of, returned. But in this case we are interested in the mood of the graduates of this school.

The current migratory sentiments of young people, to all appearances, are connected not only with the objective living conditions in a specific place. How are they to be overcome? Time is needed for this. It is necessary for work in agriculture to become more prestigious, for people to envy not those, who were able to "establish themselves" in the city, but those, who work at sovkhozes and kolkhozes.

The convergence of the countryside in cultural and general living conditions with the city is a noble task. But to solve it still does not mean to quickly dash the aspiration of young people to move to the city.

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/Text/ 3. Competition at the City Gates

What is necessary to migrate to a city? Well, first of all there is a desire. As we have already stated, there are many times more potential migrants from the countryside than those who actually migrate. Hence, a desire is not enough. It is necessary to have a demand for migrants. This is the first thing. While living in a city, one must have something to live on. To put in bluntly, one should work or study. This is the second thing. Hence it is clear that the total extent of the net migration from the countryside is determined, basically, by the number of work places and student places, which the former rural residents can occupy in the city.

In other words, each specific city, as well as the cities of the country as a whole have a certain demographic "capacity," which limits the extent of the influx of rural residents. Let us explain this by analogy with the competitive entrance examinations to VUZ's.

Assume that a VUZ can admit 1,000 people to the first year. But 3,000 applications were received. How many people can become students? Of course, a thousand. The others will be "sifted out." Some of them will fail the entrance examinations, other "will not achieve the marks," that is, will not pass the competition. Some will try to enroll the following year, some will find something else.

As you see, there is a similarity between enrolling in a VUZ and migrating to the city. In both places it is necessary to stand up to the competition. It is just that in the latter case it is somewhat disguised, less formal. Of course, here not school knowledge, as in the case of VUZ competition, but something completely different is usually of decisive importance. For example, a young person has advantages over a middle-aged person, a single person has advantages over a married person (there is difficulty with apartments, but a place will be found in a dormitory). A person with a specialization has an advantage over an unskilled worker. A knowledge of the situation in the city, the presence there of relatives and acquaintances (good advice, help in finding a job, with housing at first), closeness to the city--the convenience of travel between it and one's native village--play a role. That is the result. Those having advantages "will establish themselves" in cities, the others will not get the marks and will go back. However, some of those who have "established themselves" will return to the countryside later, not having been able to become attached to the city and to adapt in it.

Of course, if a specific rural resident wants very much to become a city dweller, he will become one, having expended greater efforts and time on this than others. And this is even on the condition that the objective conditions of the move are not very favorable for him, at any rate, worse than for others. The number of places in the city, of course, will not increase. It is simply that--by analogy with the VUZ--he will not let in "his" place someone who, according to objective data, claims it on good grounds.

This mechanism of the redistribution of the population between the countryside and the city makes it possible to effectively regulate migration. It is possible to reduce the outflow of young people from some places, while giving them incentives from others. So that more graduates of rural schools would remain, for example, in the villages of the Nonchernozem Zone, it is necessary to promote migration from the villages of Central Asia. In short, a differentiated--different in different places--migration policy is needed.

It is well known that the overwhelming majority of migrants from the countryside go to the cities closest to them. There it is easier to establish oneself, easier to adapt, simpler to repeat the attempt, if the first one failed. Hence, to reduce the outflow of the rural population in a specific area it is necessary to decrease the number of vacant work places in the industry of the closest cities. Why precisely in industry is clear. For precisely the location of industry determines all the other "urban" sectors of the national economy. Industry "attracts" them.

Therefore, when beginning a large new industrial project, one must be well aware that it will inevitably "pull" the population of the surrounding villages. Thus, the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant in Naberezhnyye Chelny attracted, first of all, the rural inhabitants of Tataria, to a lesser extent the residents of the neighboring oblasts and autonomous republics, while there are few people from such places with a surplus of labor as Central Asia, Transcaucasia and the Northern Caucasus. At the same time the Atommash Plant in Volgodonsk (Rostovskaya Oblast) is drawing strongly on the rural population of the Northern Caucasus, where there is a certain surplus of manpower.

Thus, the first thing necessary to reduce the outflow from areas with a shortage of labor is the construction of enterprises, that is, the creation of new work places, where there is a surplus of manpower in rural areas. Of course, this is far from always possible. The extractive industry, for example, is inevitably attached to mineral deposits. And at times they have to be mined in places where previously there was no population at all. However, there are often opportunities to locate new works in regions with a surplus of labor, although they are not always used well.

For example, the residents of the same Central Asia make up 10 percent of the population of the entire country. Nearly all our cotton is cultivated here. But then the share of this region in the production of fabrics is only 5 percent. We haul the cotton over many thousands of kilometers to the Northwest, we feed gas there from Central Asia, make fabrics there and haul them back to Central Asia.

Of course, if desired, it is possible to find an explanation, even a justification for this, just as for everything in the world, especially if you take a departmental point of view. But one thing is unquestionable: this location of textile production not only stimulates the depopulation of the villages of the Nonchernozem Zone, but also retards the outflow of the surplus population from the southern regions of the country.

The departure of young people from the Nonchernozem countryside is also connected with the extensive industrial development of the North. Of course, this development is necessary to the country. But are we not too extravagant with respect to the manpower resources precisely of the Nonchernozem Zone?

The Nonchernozem oblasts are closer to the North than the areas with a surplus of labor of Central Asia or the European South. Therefore primarily those who have left the Nonchernozem Zone are developing the North. In essence, it is not important where the people come to the North from--from the countryside or the city; if city dwellers left, those who come from kolkhozes and sovkhozes will take their places. In short, the development of the North is directly connected with the problems of agriculture of the Nonchernozem Zone.

It turns out that in order for more young people to remain in villages, where there are not enough working hands, it is necessary to attract more energetically to the city people from areas with a surplus of labor. For this is equivalent to the attachment of young people where they are especially needed. At the same time the outflow from villages with a surplus of labor will yield a much greater impact if only because we will be stimulating a natural process, and not hampering it.

4. Stimulate the Departure From the Countryside!

The reader, of course, understands that it is a question only of villages with a surplus of working hands. And if I am stressing this, it is only because from time to time one has occasion to meet people who suggest: in Central Asia, as in the Nonchernozem Zone, it is necessary to "attach" young people to the countryside. You are interested: but why? They answer you: do you really not know of the initiative of the graduates of the rural schools of Kostromskaya Oblast: "By the Whole Class to the Native Kolkhoz"?

Yes, I answer, I know of this initiative, I know it was rated highly. And then they gladly inform me that there, they say, this spring 28 rural schools came forward with a similar initiative. You explain: at the Kostroma farms there is a shortage of manpower, while here there is a surplus. Where is the logic? But these arguments do not make an impression on my collocutor. After all, he is the deputy chairman of the executive committee of one of the oblasts of Uzbekistan.

In discussing migration, it is necessary to imagine a system of connecting vessels. A low mobility of the rural population of Central Asia or Transcaucasia inevitably brings into motion the residents of the villages of the Nonchernozem Zone.

Assume that several hundred women textile workers from the central region (Ivanovskaya, Kalininskaya or other "textile" oblasts) moved to Central Asia and began to work in Tashkent and Dushanbe. What consequences would this cause? Girls from vocational and technical schools would take the work places of the weavers and spinners who left, while girl graduates from rural schools and nearby regions, in turn, would take their places. But then, when boys of their age return to their native regions, after serving in the army, they would have no one to marry. The "problem of brides" is now quite acute. Very often precisely it stimulates the move of young people to cities.

This is at one pole. But what about the other?

Having occupied work places at the textile enterprises of Central Asia, the women who came from the Center make the entry here of local women impossible. Hence, the latter remain in the villages. Of course, it is tempting to acquire skilled women textile workers for an enterprise: it is possible not to deal with their training

locally. But the national economic and social consequences of such shifts are clearly negative.

We took women textile workers only as an example. The same thing also occurs in other sectors of industry.

But now let us imagine the opposite picture. Thousands of people arrive from Central Asia at the industrial enterprises of the Nonchernozem Zone and take work places there, and then the demand for the migration here of young people of local villages correspondingly decreases. But it is much more difficult to achieve this that to imagine it. And at first the active transfer of the excess rural population to nearby--Central Asian and Transcaucasian--cities would be sufficient. But in the future the urban skilled workers, and especially their children, will disperse over the entire boundless territory of our country.

How do you increase the migratory mobility of the rural population of areas with a surplus of labor?

We will speak again about Central Asia. An entire system of measures, which increase migratory mobility and make a move to the city more desirable and less difficult, is necessary. I believe that, in particular, the following items are necessary in this system: an increase of the educational level of the rural population; the orientation of rural school children toward the city, urban occupations, the urban way of life; the vocational training of young people for work in the city, which is carried out in the countryside; organizational and economic assistance in migrating from the countryside to the city; assistance in the sociopsychological adaptation of former rural residents to the city, the urban way of life.

I will speak briefly on each of these items.

The education of the rural school children of Central Asia, from the standpoint of migration, leaves much to be desired. It is a matter not of how many grades they complete, but of the knowledge acquired. The children here often know Russian poorly (due to the lack in the villages of a Russian language environment, owing to the inadequate training of teachers), which greatly complicates migration to cities, where Russian is necessary for further studies and work. The training of school children in physics and mathematics is inadequate. And this complicates the acquisition of a technical occupation and the improvement of skills.

The social and vocational guidance of rural school children requires improvement. First, it is aimed at their "attachment," while it should be carried out with the aim of increasing the migratory mobility and the stimulation of a move to the city (with comparatively rare exceptions, for example, in regions of new development). Second, not all the teachers of rural schools, who have been entrusted with vocational guidance, know the urban occupations adequately. Of course, this shortcoming occurs not only at the Central Asian school, but it is felt considerably more strongly here than in other places. Undoubtedly, a state system of vocational guidance, vocational advice bureaus and vocational selection is necessary.

Boys and girls who live in villages are virtually not trained for urban occupations. It seems that it is expedient to set up a system of vocational and technical schools which are located in the countryside, but train personnel for the city. The

Central Asian village often has 5,000-10,000 residents and more. Let us take, for example, the village of Kostakoz in the Tadzhik part of the Fergana Plain. In 1978 there were 9 (nine!) secondary schools here and more than 1,000 students studied at each of them. But the nearest vocational and technical schools were located in the oblast center, a rural vocational and technical school was also there.

It is necessary to locate urban vocational and technical schools in the villages, and for the practical training of students to set up at them small industrial enterprises. Urban vocational training precisely in the village, and not in the city is necessary especially because parents often do not want 15-year-old girls to study at vocational and technical school, living in dormitories far from the family.

Migration to a city is a difficult, troublesome matter. Central Asian rural young people need assistance here. In particular, it is very important to guarantee to the migrant the receipt of a job according to his occupation and skills and housing. It would probably be advisable to give material assistance to the migrant to the city, just as assistance is given in the Nonchernozem Zone to the migrant to rural areas (traveling expenses, loans).

But what if you move to cities the entire natural growth of the rural population of Central Asia and Transcaucasia? Is such a thing realistic? Unquestionably.

This would mean that--other things being equal--in the Nonchernozem Zone and other regions with a shortage of manpower in the countryside (the Urals, Siberia, the Far East) the outflow of the population from kolkhozes and sovkhozes to cities would decrease sharply. But "other things" will not "be equal." The city will inevitably want to acquire additional manpower, and the countryside should meet their demands. Of course, the extent of the additional demands of cities can be reduced somewhat. How? By the release of people from difficult manual jobs, as is specified by the decree of the party and the government on the improvement of the economic mechanism. But there is no reason to believe that this step will completely meet the demands of cities for additional manypower resources. We will not forget the main thing: the more people who leave the villages with a surplus of labor of Central Asia, Transcaucasia, the Northern Caucasus and Moldavia, the more young people who will remain at the farms of the Nonchernozem Zone, where there are not enough working hands.

Everything that has been said on no account means that it is not necessary to perform work on the attachment of young people to the Nonchernozem countryside. On the contrary, it is necessary to intensify and improve it. However, many years will be required in order to obtain serious practical results from this work. But time does not wait!

It must be borne in mind: it is possible to achieve an intensive shift of the rural population of Central Asia to cities only with a rapid increase in these cities of the number of work places. That is why it is necessary to develop rapidly here the labor-consuming sectors of industry: light and food industry, machine building and instrument making, electronic engineering.

Migration problems are closely connected with a large number of other important and complicated issues. Therefore it is necessary to solve them only with a systems

approach within the framework of the long-range plans of the economic and social development of the country.

A systems approach is also necessary in the work of attaching young people to the farms of the Nonchernozem Zone, as well as in other regions with a labor shortage. The interconnected improvement of all aspects of rural life--labor, daily life and culture--will make it possible to lessen appreciably the longing of young people for cities.

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